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# The People.

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## MAY-DAY.

Address Delivered by J. Mahlon Barnes.

Puritan Hall, Boston, April 30, '99.

Comrades and Citizens. Ladies and Gentlemen of Boston:—I greet you and congratulate you upon the fact that this is the largest audience ever assembled in your city under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party to celebrate the International May Day. Know ye, comrades, that this meeting is but a link joined to thousands of others in cities, hamlets, villages and towns, making a chain that reaches around the world, bringing the proletarian into union of hope, of aspiration and of common noble purpose: the abolition of the System of Capitalism.

Though but ten brief years have passed since the establishment of this feast by the International Congress of the workers in Paris, we point with pride and satisfaction to the fact that a militant army, larger than any crusade, infinitely larger in the given period of formation than any world movement ever witnessed. To-night its millions march under the universal banner of the Socialist Labor Party. Futile yet would be our gatherings unless we pause and take from the experience of the past some guide for our onward march of the morrow. Therefore we ask your attention for the consideration of some of the struggles or efforts on the part of the workers in the past.

The trades unions, or craft associations, opposing infant force against infant capitalism, first demand our attention. To grant them credit due, let us remember that, with infant capitalism, larger numbers of small bosses were engaged in the same business in a given locality: Smith, Jones and Brown, as shoe manufacturers, by concert of effort among the workers easily could be, and frequently were, played once against the other to the benefit of the workers. Smith's men would strike; Jones and Brown would employ them, and steal Smith's trade. But with the better organization of capital and higher concentration of industry, the turning point came, and this by-play of capitalists against capitalists passed away, and shall be known no more forever. When Smith, Jones and Brown clasp hands (commercially) across the city, across the State, from nation-border to nation-border, and then around the world, the blind alone would fail to see a changed condition, demanding a new policy on the part of the class of the proletariat.

No further in illustration need we go but point out the trend of capitalism in three months of the year, 1899: Industrial combinations have been formed, capitalized at double the value of all those established during the whole year of 1898. Trade unions existing now must be judged by their policies and tactics. By their works ye shall know them. They are potent or impotent, useful or useless, beneficial or mischievous as revealed by the touch stone of their purposes and accomplishments. Slogans or mottos of craft organizations in the youthful days of this century are interesting.

First, masons—"Fair profit to the boss; fair treatment to the men."

Second, plasterers—"The welfare of the master, the interest of his men."

Third, wheel-wrights—"Prosperity of the employer and employee."

Fourth, Liverpool cigarmakers, 1893—"Fidelity to employers, and unity among men."

"Tis strange, 'tis passing strange, the purposes here set forth in the light of the great world-wide revolutionary movement, now on to the death of exploitation, industrial tyranny and capitalism.

But, say you, these are antiquated mottos of trade unions. Well, then, by all means, let us have some up-to-date, from J. B. Lemmon, Treasurer of the "great A. F. of L." and endorsed by Frank K. Foster, representing the tækmakers of Boston:

"The interests of employers and employees are identical." (Sic!)

Again, the slogan of every pure and simple trade union to-day is: "A fair day's work for a fair day's pay."

I want to make a suggestion of a motto or two to the pure and simple leaders; and I hope they will be approved of, for I opine they would be more direct, to the purpose, quite as logical, and with more rhythm; so that, if used as a battle cry, they would sound better in chorus, to wit: "A little foolishness for some little fools"; or "A little moonshine for some little monkeys."

We must remember, whatever of solidarity there appears in trade unions to-day is due entirely to the influence of Socialism; for craft organizations remained local craft organizations with all their narrow-mindedness, jealousies, craft prejudices and suspicion of the rest of the world of Labor until the flash-light of the economics of Karl Marx made us feel the common pulse-throb, by his "WORKMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!"

Assembled here to-night, we enjoy the high privilege of citizenship. How is it that we are so singularly blessed against all the races and generations, during all the ages past? Why do we vote? Let us answer briefly: "A concession from capitalism for the benefit of capitalism, with the rising industrial power of capitalism."

Capitalism was first confronted by the opposition of political power, yet in the hands of the feudal barons, or



the landed aristocracy. Not then, as now, was the elector's choice recorded in secret by means of the paper ballot; but voice-vote prevailed; "James announced his vote for Jordan at the hustings," and it was so publicly recorded. Under these conditions, meek capitalism, confronted by the necessity of controlling political power for its class, began to say the prettiest things imaginable about "Brotherly Love," and "Equality before the Law," and "Equal Responsibilities in Citizenship for the Working Class." The Bible was brought forth to assist their claim; and every tender chord was touched. Capitalism sat greedy-eyed behind its false pretence, its profession of philanthropy and brotherly love. Knowing full well that when their workers would have a vote, the workers would vote for their employer or his representative, or would not be given work. Thereby the capitalist, employing ten newly made voters, counted for eleven votes; and the capitalist employing one hundred men counted one hundred and one votes—all in favor of the capitalist's political supremacy, and against the political power and supremacy of the landed aristocracy. Even as by chattel slaves in the South, was the owner's vote increased in like manner. The wage slave made political power for his master. Have we not well paid the debt to capitalism for our franchise? We have enthroned the capitalists in power. From the White House down to the Consulate in your backwoods, by our votes they handle the dynamite cannon, the Gatling gun, the repeating-rifle and the police-men's club!

Why we vote we have seen; revealed also is the horrible fact that we vote for murderous blood-stained capitalism now with the secret ballot. The all-important question is, Why do we not vote as workingmen for our class? Who tells you not to bother your little head about politics? Who charges you with being union-wreckers? If you speak of united political action by the working class, who charges you to leave political power in the hands of your masters? Who forbids you to discuss politics in your trades unions?—The Labor Leader, the Fakir, the Traitor! They, drawing salaries from the workers, receive political preference and place from your enemy, the capitalist. Honest and true we know are many thousands of our rank and file in trades unions. Against these we raise no voice of condemnation, but we do on the fakir and traitor, on whose brow the mark of Cain appears more plainly every day wherever he appears. If there be no Socialist to-day to scourge him, there will be one to-morrow, and three the next day to proclaim his villainy. Under such leadership too pure and simple unions go into back-door politics, to wit, with bowed head and cringing limb: "Please, Mr. Political Boss, be kind and do something for us, your voting cattle." Results: An eight-hour law is passed by Congress during General Grant's second term, more than twenty-five years ago, and yet it is not enforced! Why? Because the Government was halted by reason of a misplaced comma in the printed bill, and the Government, therefore, CANNOT FULLY COMPREHEND THE PURPOSE OF THE ACT! :

Just think, a misplaced comma, the slip of some printer's devil, or some devil of a printer, prevents the enforcement of an eight-hour law for twenty-five years, while capitalist

measures outraging every sense of reason on their very faces, crucifying grammar, with or without any punctuation marks are strictly enforced, to the greater glory of great capitalism!

Ten years of time and labor and much money was expended by the miners of Indiana to get a Check-Weigh law. It took the Supreme Court ten minutes to declare it unconstitutional!

Fourteen years the cigarmakers of the country labored to get a law in New York State to abolish tenement house work. In six months after its enactment, upon the first trial of the law, the Supreme Court informed the cigarmakers that those fourteen years were filled with love's labor lost.

In Pennsylvania, ten years ago, a law was passed abolishing company or pluck-me-stores; so flagrant did their operations become that, in 1897, a bill was presented to Governor Hastings, Republican, for the purpose of taxing them; he promptly vetoed it on the ground that there was a law upon the statutes expressly forbidding the existence of such institutions within the confines of the State of Pennsylvania.

Governor Pattison, Democrat, and Governor Hastings, by the non-enforcement of this law, have proved their hostile attitude towards labor, from the time of taking the oath of office perjured themselves with every breath they drew. Yet we find labor skates in the mine workers' and steel workers' and printers' unions giving both of them a certificate of good character, and on the stump proclaiming how each of these Governors loves labor—jobs—jobs—are by this gesture required, whether from the workers or the capitalists!

Do you remember the Industrial Commission bill, prayed for by all trades-union-Democrat-and-Republican fakirs: a bill properly characterized by THE PEOPLE as the "Fakirs' Pension bill"? At the last A. F. of L. convention their chagrin was displayed, and because there were not enough pensions or places granted to the fakirs, a resolution was passed deploring the fact that President McKinley did not see fit to appoint a larger number of real, true blue honest labor representatives on that Commission.

The City Council ordinance of Syracuse, N. Y., for the employment of union labor only, became inoperative.

Last week, Denver's Eight-hour law was knocked unconstitutional; back-door politics is the real thing—is it?

These out-workings, coupled with a fact I hope you will bear in mind, that TO-DAY THE PRODUCER RECEIVES AS WAGES A SMALLER PROPORTION OF THE VALUE HE CREATES THAN EVER BEFORE IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND, characterize the pure and simple trade union movement under fakir leadership as a FLIGHT rather than a FIGHT before the onslaught of economically and politically entrenched capitalism.

Remember also that trade, under capitalist competition, gravitates to the source of cheapest supply. Trade unions with their "fair day's wage" notwithstanding that explains why New England textile mills go South, and why so many erstwhile Boston cigarmakers are sojourners in Philadelphia, and why many others of that craft, heretofore well paid in other localities, are now separated from home ties and their families, and disporting themselves in the cheapest of

cheap Pennsylvania diets designated by us as "The Klondike."

On a delicate subject now I desire to frank with you. While caring nothing particularly for the untenable position I am placed in, I am really sorry that such a large number of good people as compose this large audience should find themselves by reason of my presence under the ban of the "Executive Board of the Cigarmakers' Union No. 97 of Boston." They sent me a registered letter to Philadelphia, hoping thereby, I presume, to keep me away from, filling this engagement. Let me tell you, I have received other letters before for the purpose of keeping silent on this great class struggle. Some of them from smarter people, who, by failing to sign their names, concealed the hand that upheld capitalism. I take it however THAT THE HEAD GEAR-AMOUNTS TO NOTHING, THE STAMP OF THE HOOF AND THE ROAR OF THE CAPITALIST DEVIL IS ABOUT THE SAME THE WORLD ROUND. This is the letter:

"Boston, Mass., April 27, 1899.

"J. Mahlon Barnes, Esq.

"Dear Sir:—At a regular meeting of the Executive Board of the Cigarmakers' Union No. 97 I was directed to inform you that the tickets for your lecture in the City of Boston bear a spurious or imitation label of the Allied Printing Trades' label.

"Fraternally,

"HENRY ABRAHAMS, Sec'y.

A "spurious label"? Who set themselves up to judge it spurious? "Imitation of Allied Printing Trades?" NO. I see distinctly the ARM AND HAMMER on this label, that stands for the uncompromising revolutionary movement of the Socialist Labor Party, for the complete overthrow of capitalism. I judge it not "spurious." You need not hunt around for Barnes' position, you will find him in the economic and political movement on the side of the class struggle represented by this ARM AND HAMMER, that strikes capitalism and its henchmen everywhere. Sam Gompers might call it spurious, but I would call him TRAITOR! No imitation, for if this symbol were on the Allied Printing Trades' label, they might be charged with fighting capitalism, and it would be liable to say so. Let us see whom this Executive Board are trying to represent!

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In 1894, when that great wave of sentiment over-spread the organized workers' realm and a majority of the rank and file favored by vote "Plank ten," the collective ownership and control of the means of production and distribution (out of which they were robbed by Iscariot leaders), the great Typographical Union only wanted the land; and since then, by reason of the machines, Typographical Union No. 6 of New York, known as "Big Six," took the matter literally and solved the labor question by sending its unemployed artist members to a farm on Long Island to grow sweet pickles and cross-eyed potatoes. "Big Six" helped to fight capitalism in an other manner not to be overlooked while touching this class struggle. Whitelaw Reid, for years in season and out of season, with boast and brag, made merry war upon the printers' union. But in due time it came to pass that he was to stand before his countrymen as a candidate for Vice-President. Now was the printers' chance. Great preparation was made. Slugs of discontent would

rain upon such a candidate; old rules were brightened up and every printer had a gleaming dagger in his boot and one in each eye. When, however, Mr. Reid whistled, then sang a little tune ("I love your union, boys")—a conference—and then so far as "Big Six" cared, we hadn't as fine a labor candidate for years!

Again these pure and simple organizations, as before mentioned, stand for "fair day's work," for "a fair day's pay," which correctly interpreted means: "You may rob us, Mr. Capitalist, but rob us in decency, and according to our rules; and, if you use this label, you may not only rob us, but we will try and get you as many more to rob as we can and will even fight those Socialist workmen, who deny you the right to rob!" Some of the phases we have touched upon to-night we hope will be pondered over and bring us to a clearer view of our duty and a stronger purpose for its performance.

There are but two positions that can be occupied; one on the capitalist side, the other on the Socialist side. We earnestly invite those not yet numbered with the Socialist to enroll at once.

Into no infant movement ask we you to enlist; but for strength of numbers, firmness of purpose, clearness of issue; and constant world-wide growth it is unequalled and unrivaled. Two million votes in Germany; one million seven hundred thousand in France; hundreds of thousands in Belgium and Austria; its tens of thousands in America and elsewhere, tell of the legions coming and coming fast to the point of victory, and position of conquerors. From the great North land where from the watch towers the midnight sun is seen from the most southern South American Republic, from old Japan and late arriving Puerto Rico, the song of the Sons of Toil echo and reverberate: "Man shall be free." And by this mighty international chorus, and by the sacrifice and struggles of its true sons everywhere, we know that the earth and the fullness thereof shall belong to, and be enjoyed in happiness and peace, by those who alone produce it all.

The S. L. P. vote in Roanoke, Va., at the municipal elections just held is:

Greenwood, for Treasurer, head of the ticket, 110 votes; this is 32 votes more than at the last election.

For Council, Welch, 1st Ward, received 50 votes; Boon, 2d Ward, 15; Tate, 3d Ward, 39; and Goodman, 4th Ward, 40.

A jokist sends us this under the head of "Meditations by William Rockefeller":

"The Socialist Labor Party is growing slow, but sure. It is moving like a high stone wall, driving before it the rats and driving them into the sea."

Section Stockton, Cal., participated in the local election held there on May 9, and polled an average of 220 votes out of a total of 3,400. This was an increase of sixty per cent. in six months.

Remit by money-order, registered letter, check or, when the amount is small, by two or one-cent stamps. Do not send cash in ordinary letters! Why run any risks?

## ROANOKE.

ROANOKE, Va., May 23.—We are in the midst of a municipal campaign in which we have a full ticket, and are spreading tons of literature.

Now, then, Comrades Welch, Peters, Tate and Goodman are members of the Central Trade and Labor Council as delegates from their respective unions. At the meetings of this body we endeavored by every fair means and open arguments to draw the members out in a friendly discussion of municipal affairs. But they would have none of it (politics not allowed).

Nevertheless, by the dead weight of the majority they decided to put a so-called "labor ticket" in the field. Its purpose is to weaken our vote, on the one hand, and to divide the workers on the other, in order that the regular Democratic nominees may slip in. My comrades and I were present in the C. T. & L. C. when their nominee Mayo accepted their nomination and took the floor to ask for instructions, saying in substance this: "Gentlemen, I rise to ask for information in regard to my position in this campaign. I am not a politician, know nothing about politics, but ask what I stand for, what policy, what principle, under what obligations am I to this body; what promises am I to make, am I free, or am I bound by any rules or regulations." The Chair-

(Continued on page 2)

## PENNA.'S VOICE.

The S. L. P. State Convention's Important Acts.

### Ticket and Resolutions.

#### THE TICKET:

For State Treasurer: SAMUEL CLARK.

For Judge of Supreme Court: DONALD L. MUNRO.

For Judge of Superior Court: VAL REMMEL.

ALTOONA, Pa., May 28.—The S. L. P. State Convention of Pennsylvania met yesterday at Carpenter's Hall and adjourned to-day, after three enthusiastic sessions.

There were present 35 delegates, representing 27 Sections and Branches in the State, several of which were organized through the recent S. T. & L. A. agitation.

John Root, of Pittsburg, was temporary Chairman. The convention went into permanent organization with H. C. Parker as Chairman, and Val Remmel Secretary.

Besides nominating the ticket above given, the convention adopted the following resolutions on Party tactics, principles and discipline:

#### ON THE S. T. & L. A.

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated by the stirring events that have transpired on the industrial field during the past year that the organization known as the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is of the greatest assistance to the Socialist Labor Party in the propagation of militant, scientific Socialism; and

WHEREAS, It has also been demonstrated that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is the only bona fide labor organization that can secure any benefits for the workers under the Capitalist System, whilst opening to them the pathway to their emancipation from wage slavery; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania, in Convention assembled this 27th day of May, 1899, do re-endorse the wisdom and action of the Socialist Labor Party's National Convention of 1896 in its endorsement of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance; and be it further

## THE PEOPLE.

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York, N. Y., Post office on April 6, 1891.

## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) . . . . .	2,068
In 1890 . . . . .	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential) . . . . .	21,157
In 1894 . . . . .	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential) . . . . .	36,564

In 1898 . . . . .	82,204
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Once we thought all human sorrows  
Were predestined to endure;  
That, as man has never made them,  
Men were impotent to cure;  
That the few were born superior,  
Though the many might rebel; —  
Those to sit at Nature's table,  
These to pick the crumbs that fell;  
These to live upon the fatness,  
These the starvelings, lank and wan.  
Old opinions! Rags and tatters!  
Get you gone! Get you gone!

MACKAY.

## THE VOICE OF MISSOURI'S STATE COMMITTEE.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., May 25.—The following resolutions were unanimously passed at the regular meeting of the Missouri State Committee:

RESOLVED, That the Missouri State Committee, S. L. P., do condemn the bourgeois principles advocated, and tactics employed by the "Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association" of New York, in reference to the articles in the "Volkszeitung," and the purloining of the Party mailing list for private purposes;

RESOLVED, That we do endorse the principles and tactics set forth in the Party papers, THE PEOPLE and "Vorwaerts" as straightforward, and conservative of the interests of the Working Class.

LOUIS C. FRY,  
State Organizer.

## TRYING TO COVER UP THE SUN WITH A BLANKET.

Readers of THE PEOPLE are aware of the tussle that has for some time been going on in Pittsburg, Kan., between the Socialists, who demand free speech, and the city authorities, who sought to repress free speech, that is to say, Socialist free speech.

These authorities did not object to Salvation Army "free speech." That was all right. The Salvationists preach contentment on earth, leaving the field free for the capitalist brigand; the Salvationists call the sufferers' attention away from where they are, and promise glories hereafter. Such "free speech" suits the brigand class of Capitalists.

But Socialist free speech is a horse of a different color, and that color suits not Mears, Capitalists. Socialist free speech calls attention to things on earth; it calls the attention of the sufferers to their rights, aye, to their duties; it makes of them men, not pottedroons; it teaches them how to redress their wrongs; it teaches them to bring heaven down on earth, and begin the enjoyment of Paradise here. That sort of free speech has a hook to it. That sort of free speech interferes with the comforts of the class that wants to live on the backs of the workers and laughs in its sleeves at Paradise. That sort of free speech won't do.

Accordingly, after the Pittsburg authorities had tried illegal arrests, brow-beating and roughanism, and yet were worsted all along the line, they passed a new ordinance, intended exclusively to keep the Socialist speakers off the street on Sunday. This is the ordinance:

## ORDINANCE No. 428.

An Ordinance to prohibit the use of the public streets of the city of Pittsburg for certain purposes the first day of the week commonly called Sunday.

Be it ordained by the Mayor and Councilmen of the City of Pittsburg:

Section 1. That it shall be unlawful for any person to make or participate in the making of any political speech, argument or address, or to make or deliver any address or lecture on any social, political, mechanical, scientific or other peculiar subjects; or to engage in the advertisement of any medicine, article, invention, or of any goods, wares or merchandise; or to give or engage in the giving of any slight of hand performances; or to give any exhibition of athletics or gymnastics; or to give or engage in the giving of any sport, or theatrical entertainment on any of the public streets, avenues, alleys, lanes, parks or other public grounds within the corporate limits of the city of Pittsburg on the first day of the week commonly called Sunday.

Section 2. That any person who shall violate any of the provisions of section one of this ordinance, or any of the things therein prohibited on any of the public grounds within the city of Pittsburg on the first day of the week commonly called Sunday, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not less than five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars.

Section 3. That this ordinance shall be in force from and after its passage, approval by the Mayor and publication in the Pittsburg Daily Headlight.

Passed and approved this 12th day of April, A. D. 1898.

J. W. BREWER, Mayor.  
Attest: E. W. ANDERSON,  
City Clerk.

Thus again the cloak of Religion is used to conceal the Devil's hoofs and forked tail. But what will it avail? Suppressed on Sundays, the

whole world over.

Even this is not enough. The laborers and officers in such industries shall be organized under the military law that insists on blind obedience with the severest penalties.

A strike will be treated the same as rebellion in time of war, and the taking part

in any strike by the railroad, post-office and telegraph employees will be punished the same as desertion."

The Pittsburg municipal representatives of that thoroughly theistic capitalist class will find out that they have tried to cover up the sun with a blanket.

SWEET ARE THE USES OF ADVERSITY, ETC.

The Nebraska "Grand Council United Commercial Travelers" held recently a session at Hastings, where they gave vent to their opinion on Trusts by passing the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The Grand Council of Nebraska has noticed with great distress and alarm the fact that in the course of the last year the commercial trusts have made great progress in nearly all lines known to commercial transactions, removed that the time is at hand when commercial travelers, individually and collectively, must use every effort in their power to impede the progress and wipe out of existence formations that are taking from us situations for which we have spent years of time and toil to prepare; and that the world is ready to assist to the best of our ability in any movement that will relieve us from the influence of that well-known tyrant, the Trust.

Sweet are the uses of adversity, which, like the toad, ugly and venomous, bears yet a precious jewel in his head. The Trust, meaning thereby the privately owned contrivance of production that bids defiance to the smaller concerns, is such a toad. It is ugly and venomous. Its economic power, coupled to the political power that it takes in hand, turns it into a despot, that pauperizes the people and turns them into abject slaves. Yet ugly and venomous as such a toad is, it does bear a precious jewel in its head.

The Trust-toad is but a developed toadpole. So long as the toad is not full-blown the poison that in him is remains concealed, and, being concealed, the correct means to his destruction remains hidden. Trust-toad is the developed germ of private ownership in the means of production. Until the germ is developed, illusions untold fill the popular mind. Among these illusions the leading one is that anyone, provided he be industrious, can secure economic independence and welfare. While this illusion prevails, the class, the only class that can remove the evil is incapacitated from fulfilling its mission. Its inability arises from the circumstance that it is cut up, divided,—not a unit. The class that is called upon to slay the monster and secure freedom must first realize its solidarity as Working Class, as Proletariat. But, in the minds of the members of large sections of the Proletariat, the word "Proletariat," the idea of "Working Class" is repulsive. The terms are to them identical with "common labor," with the "Great Unwashed." External appearances conceal the underlying economic kinship. Thus clerks, Commercial Travelers, etc., still disdain the idea of belonging to the same class as the mechanic and the hod-carrier; and thus the ranks of the Proletariat remain broken.

The Trust-toad, venomous though it is, bears on its head the precious jewel that it brings home to the "Washed" Proletariat its oneness with its "Unwashed" brother; it tears the illusions of the former to shreds; it opens their eyes,—at least starts to open them. But for the Trust, one might well despair of ever solidifying the Proletariat of all conditions; of bringing home to what might be called the "Clerk Class" the fact that, though it seems to work with its head, and, all other external appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, yet it is an exploited class, just as the manual worker, and that its class interests are one with these. But for the Trust, in short, economic slavery might remain a perpetuity, by reason of the gilding of the yoke that some wage slaves bear, preventing them from seeing the truth that it brings home to the "Washed" Proletariat its oneness with its "Unwashed" brother; it tears the illusions of the former to shreds; it opens their eyes,—at least starts to open them. But for the Trust, one might well

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## FREE SPEECH

## TRADES UNIONISM.

The S. T. & L. A. the Only Sound Unionism in the Land.

[From Brooklyn "Arbetaren," Swedish Party Organ.]

Tempered With by Capital but Upheld by Socialism in New Jersey.

BAYONNE, N. J., May 25.—On Saturday, May 20, three young members of Bergen Branch, Hudson County S. L. P., invaded this peaceful City of Bayonne. The Mayor had in a moment of forgetfulness granted them his urgent permission to hold open air meetings in his bailiwick; but, after mature deliberation on the evil effect of Socialism, he regretted his action and ordered the uniformed "guardians of the peace" to arrest the malefactors should they persist in their nefarious designs. So, when the young men arrived on the specified corner, Avenue A and 22d street, they were met by about one-half of the "finest" of the city and threatened with arrest and severe punishment on the first attempt to exercise the constitutional right of free speech. These police said that "a city ordinance is superior to the Constitution of the United States." Nothing daunted, however, Comrade Loewenthal mounted the platform, a soap box, and opened the meeting, only to be as promptly arrested, hauled to the station house, and put under bonds to appear in court on the following Monday.

After the arrest, and during the interval of waiting the arrival of bail, Hon. Honor expressed a desire to speak over the phone with a representative of the S. L. P. Comrade Herrschafft responded and the following colloquy ensued:

Herrschafft—"Is this the Mayor?"

Mayor—"Yes."

H—"I am the representative of the Socialist Labor Party in Bayonne. This evening one of our members has been arrested for violating a city ordinance. Is this what you wish to speak to me about?"

M—"Yes."

H—"What is this ordinance?"

M—"It is an ordinance prohibiting the holding of meetings by any society or organization on the public 'high-ways' of the City of Bayonne."

H—"How long has this ordinance been in effect?"

M—"Ever since I have been Mayor."

H—"That is quite a number of years!"

M—"Yes."

H—"That being the case, how is it that we have been allowed to hold meetings in this city before, on the same avenue, and various cross streets?"

M—"That was during a public campaign."

H—"Ah! What is a campaign, when does it begin, when does it end?"

M—"Well—it ends after election."

H—"Right, but the election is not yet here."

M—"Why don't you people hire halls? Halls are cheap in Bayonne."

H—"Yes, halls are cheap, from \$15 to \$25 per night, and the Socialist Labor Party being composed of workingmen, not millionaires or millionaires' sons, nor having the corporations behind them, cannot afford to hire them, but if you, the Mayor, or the City of Bayonne will pay for them, we shall certainly make use of them."

M—"Well, I don't want you to think that there is any personal animosity on my part; the ordinance is thus, and I must see that it is enforced."

H—"Yes, you must do your duty, but we Socialists hold that the ordinance is unconstitutional. The Constitution of the United States guarantees every citizen the right of free speech and assembly, and it is only a matter of courtesy on our part to ask you for permission."

M—"Well, if you wish to fight the City of Bayonne that is your privilege."

H—"Yes, and we shall avail ourselves of it. I don't wish to take up any more of your valuable time, nor waste any of my own, so I bid you good night."

After this conversation the ball had arrived, and Comrade Loewenthal was ordered to appear the following Monday morning.

On Monday morning, Comrade Loewenthal appeared; the charge—disorderly conduct—was preferred by the Sergeant. Upon being asked what he had to say in his own behalf, the comrade denied having been disorderly and denounced the whole proceeding as a petty piece of political persecution; he was interrupted by the Dogberry with: "I want no such talk here! You are fined one dollar." This Comrade Loewenthal refused to pay, whereupon he was locked up. This was at 10 a.m. The services of a number of the law were then procured, and at 120 p.m. a decree from the Appellate Court was handed to the astonished Dogberry, ordering the release of the prisoner and declaring all ordinance curtailing the right of free speech or assembly unconstitutional.

At 8 o'clock the same evening we held, without permission from "His Honor," a rousing demonstration at the same place, "His Honor" being one of the listeners, while the police effectively squelched any and all attempts at interruption.

The next fight on hand is at Harrisburg, where the creature, whom accident made a candidate, and general disgust and apathy elected, declared to our comrades that neither he nor the police wanted any Socialism, will be taught his first lesson in the Constitution which he has sworn to defend but of which he is as ignorant of as he is of everything else.

## YOUNG SOCIALISTS.

The New York "Finest," who have so often disported themselves breaking open the skulls of workingmen on strike, believing all the time that they are themselves of the elite, are just now making experience. The "shoo-fly" is being re-introduced among them.

The "shoo-fly" is the detective, who, in civilian dress, prowls among the patroliens and spies upon them.

Incidentally, it is not the patroliens alone who are hereby taught a lesson, all others learn one; particularly the Glasgow municipalizationists should take note.

The treatment received by these Pioneers, who are municipal employees, points to the treatment that all employees of capitalist municipalities or governments can expect. The municipality owns the Police; but, as Capitalists are humiliated, besides being

## CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

## Important Request from Colorado.

To THE PEOPLE.—The State Committee of this State desires to place the following statements at the heart of all Sections of the Socialist Labor Party and friends in the State of Colorado:

The State Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, which is being desirous of keeping on, State Organizer constantly in the field from now until after the next Presidential election, finds it to be necessary to appeal for funds to enable it to do so. During the past two years much effective work has been done, not only in the way of clearing the ground, but in organizing sections. But the condition existing now makes it difficult for us to wage an aggressive war upon the political forces of capitalism to the end that the people may come to understand the necessity of overthrowing the existing anarchist system and establishing a Socialist Commonwealth. The events of the last few months preface a rapid intellectual change on the part of the people in our favor, and in fact, already we are not wanting to prove, that the intellectual revolution is going on, and consequently it becomes our duty to direct the forces into right channels, in order to prevent our civilization from going down in ruins.

In this State the outlook is magnificent, and it is absolutely necessary for our organization to have a sound Socialist element

in the Party, attributes to the stand taken by the "Volkszeitung" the slow progress of the Party here in Greater New York during the last few years, we think such a statement is only too true. The "Volkszeitung," being a daily paper, would, during this time, have been able to do lots of good for the cause of Socialism if it had been working FOR, instead of AGAINST the Party's tactics on trades unionism, or instead of ignoring them altogether, as it generally has done.

That a Socialist trade union organization, always ready to do battle and armed accordingly, is requisite to inspire the workingmen with enthusiasm and interest, has been shown to our readers not only by articles and notices in this paper ("Arbetaren"), but also by contributors from the very fields where the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance has laid down its foundations. The joy, awakened by the new refreshing tactics have in all these articles been described. These contributors probably knew nothing of the "Volkszeitung's" position towards the S. T. & L. A. But they did see the difference between PURE AND SIMPLE and SOCIALIST tactics of trades unionism; and the latter have called into life new confidence, whereas the former have been unable, or have been lacking even the will, to lead the workers in the right direction.

How possibly could the workers have gotten this difference clearly demonstrated to them if the S. T. & L. A. had not existed, and taken a hand at the right moment?

The "Volkszeitung" did nothing to show that it was just the S. T. & L. A. which lead the workers to victory in Allegheny. "It was Socialism," that paper abstractly declared, thereby of course proclaiming for itself, as a Socialist organ, part of the honor, although, as matter of fact, the paper, being an adversary to the S. T. & L. A., was rather an obstacle than a means to the victory.

A Party organ must under all circumstances aid in a movement undertaken by the economic phalanx of its Party. Just think what economic and moral assistance a daily paper through its influence could bring into play to victoriously carry through a wage battle! What would be the outcome if that daily paper be committed to a policy of withholding its assistance by reason of its disapproval of the Party's tactics on trades unionism? Such a paper, of course, could not support tactics that it disapproves of, and the support of which it would demonstrate themselves to be correct and effective?

It is in a difficult dilemma the "Volkszeitung" has placed itself in, we fear.

The "Volkszeitung" holds that we should stay in the old trades unions and win over a majority to Socialist tactics. That may sound very reasonable, but from what we have said in the above it may be understood that it does not hold good.

And what about the large masses of workingmen that the old unions DON'T WANT TO organize? A great many unions are putting up so high an admission fee as to make it practically impossible for very many workers to join. The "Volkszeitung" knows all that very well, and condemns it.

What, then, is the use of preaching unto deaf ears? These pure and simple unions have an INTEREST in the tactics that they are pursuing;—or at least THEIR LEADERS have.

Leave them alone, then, and let us Socialists turn to those workingmen who have an interest in a REAL proletarian organization that does not put up fences around its grounds, but which, on the contrary, is tearing down all obstacles in the way of general affiliation. If the Socialists want to reach the masses, THAT is the way they will have to manage it.

V. F.

The S. T. & L. A. the Only Sound Unionism in the Land.

[From Brooklyn "Arbetaren," Swedish Party Organ.]

In New York there exists a daily Socialist paper in the German language. That is cheering, or rather would be, if the paper, the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" is its name, did not put itself above the Party and consider itself entitled to take publicly a stand against the tactics that have been accepted by the Party conven-

tion. Criticise all you like, but the exercise of censoring not criticising, nor is to condemn; and yet you condemn bitterly the Editor of the "Volkszeitung" because he published a resolution of the General Committee, as he had been asked to do, and left aside your private explanations.

I thank you for having shown me where the "New York Party bosses" are to be found; thus far, I have always looked for them in the "Volkszeitung" as THE PEOPLE and have been wondering that there I could not find anything of the kind.

Now a few words as to the question of taxation which takes up three of the four pages of your English edition. According to my opinion this whole tax business has been dragged into the controversy by you for no particular purpose, except to attack which you have directed against the Party and which I placed above in the right light. Because of these attacks, you have been sharply rapped over the knuckles by the Editor of THE PEOPLE on several occasions and your whole rage is in this tax question, directed against us.

Now, in these many quotations, but in none of them have you ever said that the workers pay the taxes. On the contrary, the workers of Austria are to day curtailed in their suffrage JUST BECAUSE THEY PAY NO TAXES. But this is of secondary import; what I want to show is that, not content with attacking the Party, its officers and its press, you also have sharply rapped over the knuckles by the Editor of THE PEOPLE on several occasions and your whole rage is in this tax question, directed against us.

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## OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—  
Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

## NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Bandow, 103 Champs street, Cleveland, O.

## SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Executive Committee—Secretary George Moore, 61 Ryde street, Montreal.

## NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—147 East 23rd street, New York City. (The party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

## Canadian Nat. Exec. Committee, Montreal, May 22, 1899.

Meeting of Canadian National Executive Committee, S. L. P. Comrade I. F. Quee in chair; R. J. Kerrigan, Recording Secretary; E. Stuart, Treasurer.

Report of Auditors appointed to audit books and accounts of N. E. C.

To Comrades of Section No. 5:—We, your Auditors, appointed to audit the books and accounts of the N. E. C., beg to report that we met the National Section in its appointment on May 22, and pursuant to instructions from this Section, requested the National Secretary to call the N. E. C. to explain items in and not in the report. The National Secretary refused to call the Committee, nor would he allow us to call the Committee. Under these circumstances we cannot endorse the report established in the name of the N. E. C., since we find that some members of that Committee were not permitted to attend the deliberations of that Committee. Hence all items adopted by the rest of the Committee cannot be considered as constitutional or legal. For these reasons we cannot endorse this report.—T. Soucay, P. Drotel, E. Stuart, L. F. Jaques.

Comrades:—In view of the foregoing we were forced to take action. We decided that all our officers are to be our masters. We propose to deal with our officers as with Parliamentary Representatives. We believe in discipline from below, not from above. Rule of the People. Hence, Montreal, who is just now in the helm of our craft, asserts no "coupe de état."

Comrades, as soon as we receive the returns of the vote for the seat of the E. C. we shall go back to the Sections to endeavor to secure the loyalty and respect to our Party laws and constitution and the dictates of the Social Revolters.

Comrades, we give you authority for our action: Constitution, Art. 4, p. 9, sec. 1; Miscellaneous Regulations, p. 14, sec. 3.

By order National Executive Committee.

A. ANGER,

F. JAQUES,

R. J. KERRIGAN,

B. RODIER,

C. STUART,

T. SOUCEY,

E. P. DROLET,

L. MONDELNE,

Members Nat. Ex. Com.

Address all communications to

A. ANGER,

National Secretary,

506 Mont Royal avenue.

## elections' Resolutions on Controversy Raised by the "New York Volkszeitung" Against the Party's Principles and Tactics.

## SECTION GREATER NEW YORK.

The General Committee of Section New York calls upon the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association to declare unequivocally its disowning of all times to the Party, and we cannot regard the Association in any other light than as a Committee of the Party for the performance of a Party function, though it is endowed with a legal existence owing to the exigencies of the law of this State.

The editorial management of the "Volkszeitung" is to be entirely in accord with the decisions of the Party, local, State and national.

[These resolutions are the closing conclusions of the report of the City Executive Committee, which will be found elsewhere on this page, and which confirms the essential facts adduced by the National Executive Committee and THE PEOPLE.]

## SECTION INDIANAPOLIS.

Indianapolis, May 27.—The following resolution was adopted and ordered sent to you by a special meeting of Section Indianapolis:

WHEREAS, The modern Labor Movement, i. e., the value thereof for a healthy growth, is demonstrated by the character of tactics and aims in the work of both of which the S. L. P. is showing itself to be the only workingman's Party, in common with the International Socialist organizations, our policy and Party must forever remain proletarian;

WHEREAS, The work of the S. L. P. is to educate the masses in Socialism, with the ultimate object of uniting all the workingmen of the Socialist Commonwealth;

WHEREAS, It would be a criminal act to bring into our Party false teachings, such as the sudden departure of the "New York Volkszeitung" on the tax question, a question second to the real question that concerns Labor;

WHEREAS, The National Executive Committee of the S. L. P. has in due and proper time called a halt to these misleading articles, but without good results;

RESOLVED, That Section Indianapolis do condemn the position taken by the "New York Volkszeitung" for trying to put herself above the principles of the Party, and furthermore do condemn the work of the Socialist Publishing Association for its violation of the tactics and platform of the Party; and we recognize the fact that when a person by some capitalist trick enters the said Publishing Association, for the mere purpose of discouraging and demoralizing the Party, that person should be removed;

RESOLVED, That we call upon the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association to stop its present course so detrimental to the Party; and that it work in harmony with the same;

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the National Executive Committee; and to the Party organ THE PEOPLE, and "Vorwärts" and one to the Socialist Publishing Association.

## SECTION INDIANAPOLIS.

G. REMPLER, Organizer.

## SECTION WOONSOCKET, R. I.

Woonsocket, R. I., May 29.—At a meeting of Section Woonsocket, held May 25, the undersigned were elected a Committee to draw up a resolution protesting against the use of the name "Volkszeitung".

WHEREAS, The undersigned has used the mail list of THE PEOPLE and "Vorwärts" as it is;

RESOLVED, That we denounce as unwarranted, arbitrary and treacherous the action of said "Volkszeitung"; be it further

RESOLVED, That Section Woonsocket condemn THE PEOPLE for using their mail list to be used by the Party, that is hostile to the tactics of the Party;

HERMAN KEISER,

PIERRE M. LAPIERRE,

WILLIAM J. FERRIS.

[The mail list of THE PEOPLE was used without the knowledge or consent of THE PEOPLE.]

## SECTION ELIZABETH, N. J.

Section Elizabeth, S. L. P., having noted with regret the accusations by the National Executive Committee against the "New York Volkszeitung" under the misleading heading of "Situation in New York," disapproves strongly the publication of such a misleading document in the May Day issue of THE PEOPLE as being injurious to the Party.

We decline to concur in the opinion of the N. E. C. that the "New York Volkszeitung" has at different times willingly or unwillingly acted in contradiction with the principles of Socialism, and that the Socialist, our own experience being that the "Volkszeitung" has always and consistently defended the interests of the wage earners, and at the same time the interest of the S. L. P. which both are identical.

Reviewing critically the conduct of the "Volkszeitung" in bygone years, we may possibly discover something to find fault

with, but this we can only on the strength of the experience made hereafter, and it can be denied by none that even then the "Volkszeitung" was prompted to its conduct by the sole desire to advance the cause of Socialism and to defend the interests of the wage earners.

We are of the opinion that if the N. E. C. thought it to be its duty to interfere in the controversy between the "Volkszeitung" and THE PEOPLE, it should have exercised its authority over THE PEOPLE compelling same to use a more convincing and less abusive language.

## Kansas.

PITTSBURG.—To the comrades of the S. L. P. of Kansas we have with submit the names and addresses of those who contributed to the agitation fund for the month of April:

J. F. Elkner, Pittsburg	\$1.00
James Roberts, Pittsburg	1.00
Steve Welsh, Pittsburg	1.00
Casper Kerkin, Frontonac	1.00
Lewis Lewis, Pittsburg	1.00
G. B. Harrison, Nichols	1.25
John Weller, Waukon, Kansas City, Mo.	1.00
A. Voigt, Wichita	1.00
C. Lipscomb, Liberal, Mo.	1.00
Coal & Smith, Fuller	1.50
J. Lunger, Mayette	30
E. R. Case, Garnett	50
F. E. Petters, Herden	1.00
A. A. Cornyhan, Concordia	1.00
Total	\$14.85

The above is correct, by order of Committee.

J. F. ELKNER, State Sec'y.

## New Hampshire.

PORTSMOUTH.—Section Portsmouth was reorganized in this city in Feb. inst. and since that time we have been meeting fairly and considering the difficulties we have to encounter here. We started out with ten members; we now have 23 in good standing. We intend to hold meetings throughout the coming months to educate the people in the principles of Socialism. The seed has been sown in this city and it has taken root, and all need now is to cultivate it. We have to work for the Party, to bring forth good fruit. Section Portsmouth would attack the Party's policy, he struck out the direct reference to the Alliance. Asked whether in making the declaration in the Association that no one should attack the Party, he did not know why the national convention endorsed the Alliance, and does not think the convention declared the Alliance to be a Socialist organization. He admits that he never editorially mentioned the work of the Party in Allegany. He did not know whether the Socialist Labor Party that animated the men in Allegany had the Socialist spirit. A national convention can not be associated with Socialist spirit, but everyone must decide for himself. He does not know why the national convention endorsed the Party for the performance of a Party function, though it is endowed with a legal entity owing to the exigencies of the State.

Comrades:—In view of the foregoing we were forced to take action. We decided that all our officers are to be our masters. We propose to deal with our officers as with Parliamentary Representatives. We believe in discipline from below, not from above. Rule of the People. Hence, Montreal, who is just now in the helm of our craft, asserts no "coupe de état."

## SECTION PORTSMOUTH, S. L. P.

## New York.

## PROCEEDINGS OF GENERAL COMMITTEE, MAY 27, 1899.

Meeting at 64 East 4th street. Comrades Kep and Brown presided. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read. Committee on Credentials reports favorably on the following: New York—12th A. D., Julius Hammer; 16th A. D., M. Gelsler, M. Eckstein and L. Roth in place of Paul Joseph, L. Eckstein and H. Eckstein; 20th A. D., Br. 2, S. Klein and L. H. Weisberger; 30th A. D., M. Hillquit, Brooklyn—6th A. D., Chase S. and Peter Porten, 10th Ward, Br. 1, Brooklyn and R. Stone; 25th Ward, A. Hinde.

The report was concurred in and the delegates seated.

46 new members were admitted.

The debate on the report of the Executive Committee on the late proceedings in the "Volkszeitung" Publishing Association, was then resumed. At 12 o'clock the following question was voted on: "The motion to adopt the report and concur in the recommendations was carried by 47 votes against 29, and the meeting adjourned."

Following is the report:

To the General Committee, Section New York.

We present to you the following report in accordance with your direction to the City Executive Committee to investigate the late proceedings in the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association and present a report of its findings.

The E. C. summoned the following eight witnesses, four from each side: De Leon, Vogt, Flebiger, Max Hader, Schlueter, Jonas, Stahl and myself. All of Section New York as well as the S. C. P. A. Hader could not appear and was excused, and Heinrich denied the right of the E. C. to summon him and refused to appear.

Comrade De Leon made the following statement: The constitution of the Publishing Association contains a clause providing that the Association must be in accord with the principles and tactics of the S. L. P. On Dec. 14, 1898, the "Volkszeitung" contained an editorial article criticizing the present trade union policy of the Party and depicting the fact that the old policy "of boring from within" was given up. Another article followed in the same issue. The Association then passed a vote of censure on the Editor. At the next meeting of the Association a motion was made to rescind the censure. The debate on this motion was protracted for three months. All of those who favored the motion, except Seelby and Ehrenpreis, hailed the article as the beginning of an attack on the party outside of this city. Hader tried to argue that the party outside of this city, Stahl said the General Committee was hopeless and corrupted. Hader said that the "Volkszeitung" would die without the support of the Party. Seelby and Ehrenpreis, however, maintained that the two articles in question were not in the nature of an attack, but merely the justifiable exercise of free criticism. To test the sincerity of their contention, Comrade Vogt brought forward a resolution declaring the adherence of the Association to the Party's policy. Only a vote of 24 against 16 was cast. The resolution was allowed to come to a vote. The motion to rescind the censure was carried. A vote of censure was also passed against Comrade Vogt for introducing in the General Committee a resolution condemning the "Volkszeitung."

Editor Schlueter at no time repudiated the hostile utterances of the party. He claimed the right of criticizing concrete cases, yet he never made use of this right. On the contrary, he simply suppressed information and abstained from commenting editorially on matters of vital importance. This was notably the case with reference to the Alliance strike in New Bedford. The acts of the Haverhill crowd in defiance of class-consciousness were so glaring, their fraternizing with labor leaders and capitalists was so notorious, that the "Volkszeitung" could hardly have obtained the information if it made an honest attempt to do so. Its duty in this regard was all the more imperative in view of the wide publicity given to the Haverhill election, its proclamation as a Socialist victory, and the warm welcome Mayor Chase received at the hands of the worst reactionaries of the labor movement in the city.

Secondly, Editor Schlueter says that inasmuch as the "Volkszeitung" has properly supported the Party in its fight against the manifestation known as "Haverhillism," the acts of the Haverhill crowd in defiance of class-consciousness were so glaring, their fraternizing with labor leaders and capitalists was so notorious, that the "Volkszeitung" could hardly have obtained the information if it made an honest attempt to do so. Its duty in this regard was all the more imperative in view of the wide publicity given to the Haverhill election, its proclamation as a Socialist victory, and the warm welcome Mayor Chase received at the hands of the worst reactionaries of the labor movement in the city.

Thirdly, Editor Schlueter maintains that the "Volkszeitung" has supported the Party. He claims the right of criticizing concrete cases, yet he never made use of this right. On the contrary, he simply suppressed information and abstained from commenting editorially on matters of vital importance. This was notably the case with reference to the Alliance strike in New Bedford. The acts of the Haverhill crowd in defiance of class-consciousness were so glaring, their fraternizing with labor leaders and capitalists was so notorious, that the "Volkszeitung" could hardly have obtained the information if it made an honest attempt to do so. Its duty in this regard was all the more imperative in view of the wide publicity given to the Haverhill election, its proclamation as a Socialist victory, and the warm welcome Mayor Chase received at the hands of the worst reactionaries of the labor movement in the city.

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